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TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.¹ I

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The purpose of this paper is to gather together all that the plays of Plautus and Terence can teach us concerning travel in ancient times, particularly in the time of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilos, that is, the time of the originals on which the plays of Plautus and Terence were based. It is hoped that the paper will itself be ample justification of its existence. If, however, further warranty is needed, we may find it in the words of a weighty authority:

Was uns gleichfalls noch immer fehlt, ist eine Geschichte des Reisens im Altertum (für die Kaiserzeit liegt da freilich die treffliche Behandlung in Friedländers Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte vor) und im Zusammenhang damit eine neue Arbeit über die Fuhrwerke der Alten: denn seit dem längst antiquierten Buche von Ginzrot (vom Jahre 1817!) ist dieser Gegenstand ausführlich nicht mehr behandelt worden, so sehr sich das bildliche Quellenmaterial dafür seither vermehrt hat.²

I shall begin by discussing Plautine and Terentian geography, its extent, its accuracy or inaccuracy; I shall then consider all references to travel from point to point, assembling them into a few clearly defined groups; lastly, I shall take up a number of

¹ This paper was presented at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at St. Louis, May 4, 1906.

² So H. Blümner in Kroll's *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert*, p. 370, in his review of the progress made between 1875 and 1900 in our knowledge of the private life of the Greeks and the Romans.

related topics, such as the reception accorded to travelers on their return home, their costume, baggage, etc.

Much is to be learned by determining the places at which the plays are supposed to be laid. All of Terence's plays are laid at Athens. Athens is the scene in twelve plays of Plautus; the others (I exclude the fragmentary *Vidularia*) are laid at Thebes, Aetolia (no city is named), Sicyon, Epidaurus, Epidamnus, Ephesus, Calydon, Cyrene. Here we have allusions to all quarters of the ancient world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Athens was thought of as the natural scene of the comedies is clear from the prologue to the *Menaechmi* 7-12.¹ For certain well-known reasons the *fabulae palliatae* must bear plainly the marks of their Greek origin: what place was more Greek than Athens?²

We may pass now to details and assemble the evidence by which we fix the sites of the individual plays. We shall consider first all plays whose action is supposed to take place at Athens.

For the *Asinaria* we have decisive evidence in 491, 492. In 792, 793, Diabolus desires that Philaenium nec ulla lingua sciat loqui nisi Attica. Since in the *Poenulus* a Carthaginian talks *Punice* at Calydon (930-49, 982, 995, 112), these verses would not *per se* prove that the *Asinaria* is laid at Athens, but they must be interpreted in the light of 491, 492. For the *Aulularia* see 808-10. In *Bacchides* 235, 236 Nicobulus says: ibo in Piraeum, visam ecquaen advenerit in portum . . . navis. For the *Casina* the direct evidence is not strong. Verses 80-83 of the prologue (manifestly post-Plautine) run thus: quam servi summa vi sibi uxorem expetunt, ea invenietur et pudica et libera, ingenua Atheniensis. By themselves these verses give little help; in the *Miles* an ingenua Atheniensis is resident at Ephesus, in the *Rudens* another is at Cyrene. In the *Rudens*, again, Daemones and Plesidippus are Athenians, though now residents of Cyrene (35, 42). Still, there is point to *Cas.* 651, 652 only if the play is laid at Athens. Arg. 6, not in itself illuminat-

¹ Considerations of space make it impossible to cite all passages *in extenso*; readers of this paper will of course have a copy of Plautus at hand. For convenience I have followed Lindsay's text (1904, 1905).

² In *Poe.* 372 an *Attic* citizen is to be made of a woman freed at Calydon (but the tone is that of burlesque).

ing, derives light from Terence's practice.¹ For the *Epidicus* see 306, 307, 501, 502, 602, 26. In 448 some see in *Platenius* a reference to an Attic deme. For the *Mercator* we have sure indications in 836, 837, 944, 945. The fine narrative in 46–91 contains allusions to youthful visits by the *Mercator*'s father (to Athens) to see the peplos at the Panathenaic festival. It contains also the technical Athenian word *ephebus*.² Verses 635–38, not clear in themselves, are illuminated by those named above. For the *Mostellaria* see 66, 67: ego ire in Piraeum volo, 30, 1072. For the *Persa* see 151. In 549–54 Sagaristio asks the *virgo*, who is supposed to be newly come from Persia, what she thinks of Athens. Verses 474, 475, 390–96 are now of value for us; in 390 ff. Saturio tells his daughter that he has a fine *dos* to give her, a *librorum plenum soracum*, containing *sescenti logei atque Attici omnes*. For the *Pseudolus* see 201, 202, 270, 339, 415–17, 620, 730, 731 (here Charinus offers to put at Pseudolus' disposal a slave, *qui a patre advenit Carysto necdum exit ex aedibus quoquam neque Athenas advenit umquam ante hesternum diem*). For the *Stichus* see 446–48, 649, 650, 669, 670. For the *Trinummus* see 1103, 1104: *curre in Piraeum . . . videbis iam illic navem qua advecti sumus*. For the *Truculentus* see 497: *nunc . . . Athenas Atticas viso*, 91, prologue 1–3, 10, 11.

For the *Andria* cf. 906, 907: *Andrium ego Critonem video? . . . quid tu Athenas insolens?* For the *Eunuchus* see 107–10, 114, 115 (the girl was stolen *ex Attica hinc, e Sunio*). At 289, 290 Parmeno says: *video erilem filium minorem huc advenire. miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice est nunc*; cf. also 539, 540. In 519 Chremes explains that Thais had asked him whether he had *rus . . . ecquod Suni et quam longe a mari*. Vs. 1093, in itself not conclusive, now becomes pertinent. In 824 Chaerea is called *ephebus*: vss. 289, 290, cited above, show

¹ Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 198, 199, notes that the Greek writers took no pains to indicate the site of their plays when that site was Athens. But when the play was laid elsewhere care is taken early in the play to make its location clear. In Plautus, however, aside from the prologues, the evidence in general comes rather late in the play. Terence's practice (see below, p. 4, n. 1) is, as might be expected, thoroughly Greek.

² See below, p. 14.

that we must take this term in its technical Athenian sense.¹ For the *Hecyra* see 86 ff.

We may consider now plays laid in places other than Athens. For varying sites of plays cf. *Men.* 72–76: haec urbs Epidamnus est dum haec agitur fabula: quando alia agetur aliud fiet oppidum, etc. The *Amphitruo* is laid at Thebes: cf. 190, 194, 259, 363, 365, 376, 676–78, 1046, frag. xvi, 97, 101. The *Captivi* is set in Aetolia (no town is named); at 93 ff., in a prologue-like speech, Ergasilus says: ita nunc belligerant Aetoli cum Aleis: nam Aetolia haec est; cf. 24, 59, 824. The *Cistellaria* is laid at Sicyon; cf. 156 fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia. mercator venit huc ad ludos Lemnius (spoken by Auxilium, in a prologue-like passage), 125–30, 190, 176, 177. The *Curculio* is laid at Epidaurus: 561, 562 are clear. In 429 the banker Lyco reads a letter just handed to him by Curculio, which purports to come from a soldier in (at²) Caria: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti . . . salutem dicit (cf. 341). A fanum Aesculapi is part of the stage-setting (14, 62; cf. also 70, 204, 216, 217, 261, 270, 389,

¹ For the other Terentian plays there is no direct evidence. It is clear that to Terence Athens is the only site for a play; cf. Leo, as cited above, p. 3, n. 1. Indirect evidence is supplied by the passages in which a puella is declared to be or is proven to be a civis Attica: *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Eun.* 805, *Ph.* 114. With the same force civis is used alone: *Ad.* 725, *And.* 833, 875, 892. The *Periochae*, though not by Terence himself, may not be disregarded here; they show the interpretation of the plays current in the second century A. D. Cf., then, civis Attica, *Eun. Per.* 3; Atticus civis, *ibid.* 10, 11; relicto Athenis Antiphone filio, *Ph. Per.* 2 (*ibid.* 4, 6); civem Atticam, *Ad. Per.* 8. Cf. *Cas. arg.* 6.

What has been said will throw light on Terence's use of hic, hinc, huc, etc., of the place in which the play is laid or of motion to and from that place. For hic cf. *Ad.* 279, *Eun.* 759, 760: peregrinus est . . . minus amicorum hic habens, *Ph.* 406, 450 (sometimes, however, hic merely=ruri, in the suburbs, as against in urbe: cf. *Ad.* 403, *Heaut.* 97, 162, 601, 629, *Hec.* 216 [contrast ruri, 215], 230, 597); for huc cf. *Ad.* 649: neque enim diu huc migrarunt, 673, *And.* 70: ex Andro commigravit huc viciniam (for huc, 'to the city,' see *Ad.* 435, 526); for hinc see *Ad.* 225, 384, 661, *And.* 221 (inserted by Dz), 833: illam hinc civem esse aiunt, *Eun.* 156, 952, *Heaut.* 165 (Dz), 446, *Hec.* 86–88: Corinthum hinc sum profecta . . . edepol te desiderium Athenarum arbitror . . . cepisse (for hinc of progress from city to country see *Ad.* 433, 435, 561, 841, 843, *Hec.* 586, 610, 613, 629). Cf. also hac urbe, *Ph.* 517; e patria, *Ad.* 275. More illuminating is *Eun.* 110: ex Attica hinc; cf. *Epid.* 602: hinc Athenis civis eam emit Atticus, *Mer.* 945: de amica se indauidisse autumat hic Athenis esse. In *Cist.* 125–30, if with A we omit 126–29, we get adulescens quidam hic est adprime nobilis Sicyone.

We may note now that the *Heaut.* is laid in the suburbs (of Athens); cf. 63–74, 239, 732, etc. The reference to the Dionysia in 161, 162 is not *per se* decisive: see *Cis.* 156: fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia.

² See below, p. 6, s. v. Caria.

527-32, 558, 699). The leno, Cappadox, is in the temple to be cured (61, 62, 216-22, 235-38). He has a dream (245-50, 253-59), which he recounts (260-63) for its interpretation (270-73). The *Menaechmi* is laid at Epidamnus (cf. 230, 258-67, 306, 380, 1000, 1004, arg. 6, prol. 33, 49, 51, 57, 70, 72). The *Miles* is laid at Ephesus (cf. 88, 111-13, 411, 412, 439, 440). Hence 777, 778: isque . . . omnis se ultro sectari in Epheso memorat mulieres, in itself not conclusive, becomes pertinent. See also arg. i. 1-7, arg. ii. 1-4, arg. ii. 7-12. The *Poenulus* is set at Calydon in Aetolia (cf. 1179a-81). This passage lights up 1056, 1057, 621, prologue 72-78, 93-95. Lastly, the *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene (615-17, 712-16, 740, 741, 1338, prologue 33, 41).¹

I pass now to give a complete list of the places mentioned in the plays. I shall group these places by continents. Further, an attempt will be made to divide the places in Europe into two classes, the first comprising those which belong to the Greek rather than to the Roman world, the second including places which seem specifically parts rather of the Roman world. For convenience the arrangement within the individual groups will be alphabetical.²

I. Places in Africa.

AEGYPTUS. See *Most.* 440, 994; *Mer.* 139: resinam ex melle Aegyptiam vorato (as a cure for the spitting of blood); *Mer.* 414, 415: ancilla Aegyptia; *Poe.* 1290, 1291: Aegyptini qui cortinam ludis per circum ferunt.

AETHIOPIA: *Eun.* 165: ex Aethiopia ancillulam, 471 ex Aethiopia usque haec.

AFRICA. In *Poe.* 1304 Antamoenides, seeing his amica embrace her father, of whose identity he is not aware, says: adire certum est hanc amatricem Africam. Cf. *Poe.* 1011: mures Africanos praedicat in pompam ludis dare se velle aedilibus.

¹ In fact the play is laid in the suburbs of Cyrene, near the shore; cf. the references to the villa, 34, 85, 101, etc.

² Terence mentions relatively few places: Asia, Babylon, Caria, Cilicia, India, Miletus, Aethiopia, Andros, Athenae, Attica, Corinthus, Cyprus, (Delphi? cf. *And.* 698: non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst), Imbros, Lemnos, Myconos, Rhamnus, Rhodos, Samos, Sunium. Of these Andros, Imbros, Myconos, Rhamnus, Sunium, Aethiopia are not mentioned in Plautus. Further, all the places belong to the Greek world.

ALEXANDRIA: *Pseud.* 147: Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia.

ARABIA: *Per.* 506, 522, 541, *Trin.* 845, 933-35 (see below, p. 11, n. 1), *Tru.* 539: ex Arabia tibi attuli tus (cf. *Miles* 412, frag. 67, *Poe.* 1179), *Cur.* 443: Arabes, *Ba.* frag. xx: Arabus.

CARTHAGO: *Poe.* arg. 1, 66, 79, 900, 987, 989, 996, 1038, 1054, 1056, 1101 (1419, in the exitus alter), *Cas.* 71. Magara, a part of Carthage, is named in *Poe.* 86. Carthaginiensis is adjective in *Poe.* 59, 963, 1124, noun in *Poe.* 84, 987, 1377. Cf. also *Poe.* 53: *Καρχηδόνιος* vocatur haec comœdia. poenus is adjective in *Poe.* 991: nullus me est hodie Poenus Poenior, noun in *Cas.* 76, *Cis.* 202, *Poe.* arg. 7, 104, 113, 120, 991, 1125. Cf. also *Aul.* 566: lanterna Punica, *Poe.* 977: Punica (facies), 982 hosce . . . appellabo Punice, 990 vin appellem hunc Punice? 983 Punice pergam loqui, 985 ecquid commeministi Punice? 1000 saluta . . . Punice verbis meis.

CYRENAE: *Ru.* 33, 41. Cyrenensis is adjective in *Ru.* 713, 1338, noun in *Ru.* 615, 740. In *Pseud.* 816, *Ru.* 630 the reference to laserpicius points to Cyrene (see below p. 14).

MAGARA: see CARTHAGO above.

POENUS, PUNICUS. see CARTHAGO above.

II. Places in Asia.

ASIA. In the *Stichus* the brothers went on a trading trip to Asia (see 152, 367). So in *Trin.* 845 the sycophanta, posing as a messenger from Charmides (see below s. v. SELEUCIA), says: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia, atque Arabia. In *And.* 935, 936 we read that a man went in Asiam in part to escape war at Athens, in part to join his brother. In *Trin.* 598, 599, *Heaut.* 111, 117, 181 Asia (Minor) is mentioned in connection with campaigning. How loosely the name is used appears from *Trin. loc. cit.*: ibit . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam.

BABYLON: *Tru.* 84: Babylonensis miles (cf. 202, 392), 472: militi Babylonio, *Stich.* 378: Babylonica (peristromata), *Ad.* 915: ille Babulo ('nabob').

CAPPADOCIA: *Miles* 52 (in the soldier's bragging).

CARIA: *Eun.* 126, *Heaut.* 608. In the *Curculio* a parasite goes from Epidaurus to some place called Caria: cf. arg. 1: it Cariam, 206 misi . . . Cariam, 225 quia non rediit Caria, 339 rogat quid veniam Cariam, 67 in Cariam, 265 missust in Cariam, 329 perveni in Cariam.¹

¹Leo (*Pl. Forsch.*, p. 200, n. 2) finds a difficulty because the templum Aesculapi is set by Plautus within the town of Epidaurus; in fact, it lay miles to the west on the road to Argos. He holds, then, that Caria in this play is a town not far from Epidaurus. He concludes thus: "Wilamowitz vermuthet, dass der Schauplatz des Originals die Ansiedlung um das *τερόν* war und dass der Parasit nach Epidaurus geschickt wurde, um das Geld zu holen; dass Plautus dies für sein Publicum verwirrende Verhältniss umgeändert und die Stadt Caria hinzu erfunden hat." I feel sure, however, that to

CILICIA: *Mi.* 42, *Tr.* 599: ibit . . . latrocinatum . . . in Ciliciam, *Ph.* 66 (Demipho was lured thither by promises of montes auri).

EPHESUS in *Ba.* 171, 231, 236, 249, 309, 336, 354, 388, 389, 561, 776, 1047 is the destination of a trading trip. In the *Miles* a soldier carries a meretrix ingenua against her will to Ephesus: arg. i. 1, arg. ii. 4, arg. ii. 7, 88, 113. See also *Mi.* 384, 439, 441, 975, 976, 648, 778. Ephesii is noun in *Ba.* 309; cf. also *Mi.* 411: Ephesiae Dianae, *Ba.* 307: Dianai Ephesiae.

INDIA: *Mi.* 25, *Cur.* 439, *Eun.* 413: elephantis quem Indicis (rex) praefecerat (all three passages give a soldier's or a parasite's lies).

IONIA: *St.* 769: Ionicus aut cinaedust, *Ps.* 1275 Ionica (dances); in *Pe.* 826, which involves the phrase *in Ionia*, there is another reference to dancing (see 824, 825).

MILETUS: *Cap.* 274: Thalem . . . Milesium, *Ad.* 654, 655 (Mileti . . . Miletum), 702 ille ubist Milesius?

PERSIA: *Pe.* 461, 498. For the noun *Persa* see *Cur.* 442, *Pe.* 506, 513, 676, 707, 718, 740, 783, 796, 828, 829 (the very name of this play is significant), *St.* 24–25: Persarum montis, qui esse aurei perhibentur. For the portus Persicus see below, p. 14, n. 1, middle paragraph.

PHRYGIA: *Tru.* 536: attuli eccam pallulam ex Phrygia tibi. Cf. phrygio, 'embroiderer,' *Aul.* 508, *Men.* 426, 469, 563, 618, 681. Add portae Phrygiae, of Troy, *Ba.* 955.

PONTUS: *Tr.* 933, 934 (see ARABIA, above, p. 6), *Tru.* 539, 540: attuli . . . Ponto amomum.

the Romans of Plautus' time *Caria*, unqualified, would have suggested only Asia Minor, not an unknown city near Epidaurus. König (*Quaestiones Plautinae*, Patschkau, 1883, pp. 6, 7), shows that with names of countries Plautus seldom omits prepositions (*Most.* 440: Aegypto, on which see Quint. i. 5. 38, *Cap.* 573: Alidem, *Cap.* 330: Alide (so 94), *Tru.* 540: Ponto seem the only exceptions. König criticizes Brix on *Cap.* 573, but approves Lorenz on *Most.* 440); hence he holds, p. 8, that Caria here is a town, not a country. Görbig (*Nominum quibus loca significantur usus Plautinus exponitur*, Halle, 1883, pp. 40, 41), agrees with König concerning the facts of Plautine usage, but argues that Plautus treated Aegyptus, Caria, and Pontus "simili ratione atque nomina singularia urbium," and so concludes that Caria is the country, not a town. Soltau (*Curcutionis Plauti Actus III Interpretatio*, p. 27), takes the same view. Hüffner (*De Plauti exemplis Atticis*, p. 18), holds that Caria cannot be the country. He gives five reasons, of which the most important is that we read (206, 207, 143) that Curculio started *Cariam* but four days ago and yet is expected back today; the distance, he solemnly argues, could not be covered in that time. Further, no mention is made of a ship in the play. Yet, inasmuch as Plautus makes Philocrates in the *Captivi* go from Aetolia to Elis, effect there an exchange of prisoners, find a slave who disappeared twenty years before, and return to Aetolia all in one day, we need not distress ourselves because he talks of going from Epidaurus to Asia Minor and return in four days. For my own part, then, I incline to take Caria of the country (in Pl. the soldier is in Caria; in the Terentian passages, too, Caria is named in connection with soldiering: venimus in Cariam ex India, *Cur.* 438, points strongly to Caria in Asia); it would not be difficult to emend the passages which show *Cariam* or *Caria* without a preposition.

SELEUCIA. Charmides, bent on strengthening his fortunes by trade, goes to Seleucia, *Tr.* 112, 771, 845, 901.¹

SINOPE: *Cur.* 443.

SURIA (SYRIA): *Tru.* 530: ancillas ex Suria, 541 hasce Suras, *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam Syram, *Tr.* 542: Surorum, genus quod patientissimumst hominum, *Cur.* 443. For *Surus*, *Sura* as slave names see below, p. 12, n. 4.

III A. Places in Europe belonging to Greek geography.

AETNA: *Mi.* 1065: tum argenti montes, non massas (habes), habet Aetina non aequae altos.

AETOLIA: *Cap.* 94. Aetolus is adjective in *Poe.* 621, 1057, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 824. (Cf. also *Pe.* 3, where Aetolicus aper is named among the Herculis aerumnae.)

AGRIGENTUM: *Ru.* 50: Siculus senex, Agrigentinus.

ALIS (Elis): *Cap.* 9, 26, 94, 330, 379, 509, 544, 547, 573, 588, 590, 638, 973, 979, 1005, 1014. Aleus is adjective in *Cap.* arg. 3, 27, 31, 169, 875, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 280. Alidensis is adjective *Cap.* 880.

AMBRACIA: *St.* 491.

ANACTORIUM: *Poe.* 87, 93, 896.

ANDROS: *And.* 70, 222, 923, 931. Andrius is adjective in *And. Per.* 2, 906, noun (in fem.) in *And.* 73, 85, 215, 461, 756.

ARCADIA: Arcadian asses are sold in Athens to a merchant from Pella, *As.* 333. For such asses cf. *Persius* iii. 9, *Ausonius* lxxvi. 3, *Varro R. R.* ii. 1, 14.

ARGIVI: so the Thebans are called in *Am.* 208 (the play belongs to the heroic age).

ATHENAE: *As.* 492, *Aul.* 810, *Ba.* 563, *Ep.* 26, 502, 602, *Men.* prol. 8, *Mer.* 945, *Mi.* arg. i. 1, arg. i. 5, 99, 100, 104, 114, 122, 126, 127, 132, 239, 384, 439, 451, 489, 938, 1146, 1186, 1193, *Mo.* 1072, *Pe.* 151, 549, *Ps.* 270, 339, 416, 620, 731, *Ru.* 35, 738, 739, 741, 746, 1105, 1111, *St.* 448, 649 (salvete, Athenae, quae nutrices Graeciae: cf. *Pericles* in *Thuc.* ii. 41. 1), 670, *Tru.* 3, 10, 91, 497, *And.* 907, *Hec.* 88, *Ph.* (thrice in the *Periocha* 2, 4, 6). Atheniensis is adjective in *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 440, noun, perhaps, in *Cas.* 82, *Ru.* 1198. Attica is named in *Eun.* 110. Atticus is adjective often: (a) Athenae Atticae, *Ep.* 502, *Mi.* 100, *Ps.* 416, *Ru.* 741, *Tru.* 497; (b) civis Atticus, *Ep.* 602, *Mer.* 635 (in reverse order, Atticus civis, *Eun.* *Per.* 10, 11), civis Attica, *Poe.* 372, *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Ad. Per.* 8, *Eun.* *Per.* 3, 805, *Ph.* 114 (cf. Attica civitas *Pe.* 474); (c) in miscellaneous phrases: *As.* 793: lingua Attica, *Cas.* 652: Attica disciplina, *Ep.* 306: agro Attico, *Mer.* 837: ab Atticis abhorreo (sc. deis, Penatibus, Lare, urbe, civitate), *Mo.* 30: iuventute Attica, *Pe.* 395: logei Attici, *Ps.*

¹Cf. the mention of Seleucus, *Mi.* 75, 949, 951, 948.

202*a*: iuventutem Atticam, *Ru.* 42: adulescens . . . Atticus, 604 Philomela Attica (Leo), *Eun.* 1093: Atticam elegantiam. Atticus is noun in *Mi.* arg. ii. 4, *And.* 923, 927.

For references to the *Piraeus* see *Ba.* 235, *Mo.* 66, *Tr.* 1103, *Eun.* 290 539. Cf. also RHAMNUS, below.

BOEOTIA: *Mer.* 647.

CALYDON: *Poe.* 72, 94; 1181 Calydoniam Venerem.

CAPUA: *Ru.* 629-31: si speras tibi hoc anno multum futurum sirpe et laserpiciū eamque eventuram exagogam Capuam salvam et sospitem.

CHALCIS: *Mer.* 646, 939.

CHIOS: vinum Chium, *Cur.* 78, *Poe.* 699.

CNIDUS: *Mer.* 647.

CORINTHUS: *Mer.* 646, *Heaut.* 96, *Hec.* 86, *Heaut.* 600 and 629: Corinthia anus, *Aul.* 559: Corinthiensis fons Pirena.

CRETA: *Mer.* 646, *Cur.* 443: Arabes, Caras, Cretanos, etc.

CYPRUS: *Mer.* 646, 933, 937, *Ad.* 224, 230, 278.

DELPHI: *Ps.* 480: quod scibo Delphis tibi responsum dicito.¹

ELATIA (in Phocis): *Ba.* 591.

EPIDAMNUS: *Men.* arg. 6, 49, 51, 70, 230, 263, 267, 306, 380 (bis). Epidamniensis is adjective *Men.* 32; Epidamnus is adjective *Men.* 1004, noun in 33, 258.

EPIDAURUS: *Cur.* 429, 562, *Ep.* 540 *a*, 541 *a*, 636.

ERETRIA: *Mer.* 646, *Pe.* 259, 322, 323.

EUBOEIA: *Ep.* 153: Euboicus (miles).

GRAECIA: *Ru.* 737: ex germana Graecia, *Men.* 236: Graeciam . . . exoticam (=Magna Graecia); see also *Cas.* 71, *St.* 649. For Graecus as adjective see *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati capite operto qui ambulant, *Mer.* 525, *Ru.* 588: vina Graeca, *St.* 226: unctiones Graecas sudatorias vendo, 707,² *As.* 199: Graeca fide, *Men.* 9, *Tru.* 55.

HILURII: *Men.* 235, *Tr.* 852: Hilurica facies videtur hominis.

HISTRI: *Men.* 235.

IMBROS: an Athenian goes thither to settle an estate, *Hec.* Per. 5, 171.

LACONIA: *Cap.* 471: Lacones . . . viros (parasites), *Ep.* 234: (canis) Laconicus, *Mo.* 404: clavis Laconicus. See SPARTA, below.

LEMNOS: *Cis.* arg. 6, arg. 7, 161, *Tru.* 91, 355, *Ph.* Per. 3, Per. 5, 66, 567, 680, 873, 943, 1004, 1013; *Cis.* 100: sua cognata Lemniensis, 157 mercator . . . Lemnius. For Lemnius, Lemnia as noun see *Cis.* 173, 492, 530.

¹Cf. perhaps *And.* 698 non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst. Cf., too, the slave name *Delphium*, p. 12, n. 4.

²The passages in which pergraecari occurs are also pertinent here: *Ba.* 813, *Mo.* 960, 22, 64, *Poe.* 603, *Tru.* 87; so congraecare *Ba.* 743. Graece occurs *As.* prol. 10, *Mer.* prol. 9, *Mi.* 86, *Cas.* prol. 33, *Tr.* prol. 18, always in accounts of the Greek originals of Plautus' plays.

LESBOS: *Mer.* 647: Lesbiam (terram), *Poe.* 699: vinum Lesbium, *Mi.* 1247.

LEUCAS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Leucadium.

MACEDONIA: *Tr.* 845. Cf. Macedones, *Mi.* 44, Macedonius (as adjective), *Ps.* 51, 346, 616, 1090, 1152, 1162, 1210: virum Macedoniensem *Ps.* 1041.

MEGARA: *Mer.* 646 Megares (acc. pl.), *Pe.* 137 Megaribus . . . commigravit.

MOLOSSIA: *Cap.* 86 Molossici (canes).

MYCONOS: *Hec.* 433, 801 Myconius hospes, 803 es tu Myconius?

NAUPACTUS: *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 102, 116.

NEMEA: games at, *Cas.* 759-62.

OLYMPIA: games at, *Cas.* 759-62.

PIRAEUS: see ATHENAE.

RHAMNUS: *And.* 930: Rhamnusium se aiebat esse.

RHODOS: *Cur.* 444 Rhodiam (terram), *Mer.* 11, 93, 257, 390, *Eun.* 107, 420, 498, 423: Rhodius adulescentulus.

SAMOS: *Ba.* 472, 574, 200: Samiam quidem (Bacchidem), *Men.* 178: fores Samiae, *St.* 694: Samiolo poterio, *Ba.* 202: Samium vas, *Cap.* 291: Samiis vasis, *Eun.* 107: Samia mihi mater fuit.

SICILIA: *Men.* 1096, *Ru.* 54, 357, 495, *Men.* arg. 1: mercator Siculus, *Pe.* 395 (logum) . . . Siculum, *Ru.* 49, *Poe.* 897: praedo Siculus, *Ru.* 451, *Men.* 1068, *Cap.* 888 (bis). The verb sicilicissimo, *Men.* 12, is pertinent here: cf. also AGRIGENTUM and SYRACUSAE.

SICYON: *Cis.* 130, 156, 190, *Cur.* 395, *Mer.* 647. *Ps.* 995, 998, 1098 1174, *Cis.* arg. 1, arg. 3.

SPARTA: *Poe.* 663, 666. For the adjective we have Spartanus, *Poe.* 770, Spartiaticus, *Poe.* 719, for the noun Spartiatem, *Poe.* 780. In *Pe.* 553, 554: ut munitum muro tibi visum oppidumst? si incolae bene sunt morati, id pulchre moenium arbitror, there may well be a reference to Sparta. See also LACONIA.

STYMPHALIS: the aves Stymphales are named among the aerumnae Herculis, *Pe.* 4.

SUNIUM: *Eun.* 115, 519, *Ph.* 837 (site of a *mercatus*, 'fair').

SUPERUM MARE: *Men.* 236.

SYRACUSAE: *Men.* 17, 37, 69, 408, 1097 (a merchant goes thence to Tarentum *ad mercatum*). For Syracusanus, adjective, cf. *Men.* 1068, 1109.

TARENTUM: *Men.* 27, 29, 36, 39, 1112. In *Tru.* 649 there is a reference to the sale of Tarentinae oves, though the play is laid at Athens. Cf., perhaps, *Mer.* 525, with Naudet's note.

TELOBOAE: *Am.* arg. i. 2, 101, 205, 211, 217, 251, 414, 418, 734. See Palmer on arg. i. 2.

THASOS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Thasium.

THEBAE: *Am.* 97, 677, 1046, *Ep.* 53, 206, 252, 416, 636, *Ru.* 746. For Thebanus as adjective, see *Am.* 101, 190, 194, 259, 363, 376, 678, frag. xvi; as noun, *Am.* 365. See ARGIVI above.

THESSALIA: *Am.* 1043: Thessalum veneficum. In *Am.* 770 Thessala is the name of an ancilla.

THRAECIA: *Poe.* 1168.

ZACYNTHUS: *Mer.* 647, 940, 943, 945.

III B. Places in Europe belonging to Roman geography.

ALATRIUM: *Cap.* 883: καὶ τὸν Ἀλάτριον.

APULIA: *Cas.* 72 in <terra> Apulia. There is a slighting reference to Apulians in *Mi.* 648: post Ephesi sum natus, non enim in Apulis. *Cas.* 77 is, perhaps, likewise disparaging (cf. 67-77). The prologuist declares that in Graecia et Carthagini serviles nuptiae are celebrated more elaborately than the marriages of free-born men and women; he undertakes to prove this before a Poenus iudex . . . vel Graecus adeo vel mea caussa Apulus.

BOII: *Cap.* 888: nunc Siculus non est, Boius est, boiam terit.

CAMPANIA: *Ps.* 146: peristromata . . . Campanica, *Tr.* 545: Campanus genus multo Surorum iam antedit patientia, *Tru.* 942 (corrupt): Campas.

CORA: *Cap.* 881: καὶ τὰν Κόραν.

ETRURIA: *Cis.* 562: ex Tusco modo. See SUTRIUM, below.

FRUSINO: *Cap.* 883: καὶ τὰν Φρουσινῶνα.

GALLIA: *Aul.* 495: Gallicis cantheriis, frag. 176 (?).

HISPANI: *Men.* 235.

ITALIA: *Men.* 237: orae Italicae omnes.

MONS MASSICUS: *Ps.* 1303: Massici montis uberrimos quattuor fructus.

MASSILIA: *Men.* 235: Massilienses, *Cas.* 963: ubi tu es qui colere mores Massiliensis postulas?

PISTORENSES: *Cap.* 160.

PLACENTIA: *Cap.* 172: opus Placentinis quoque.

PRAENESTE: *Ba.* frag. viii.: Praenestinum opino esse, ita erat gloriosus, *Tr.* 608, 609: ilico hic ante ostium, 'tam modo,' inquit Praenestinus, *Tru.* 691 (cf. 688 ff.): Praenestinis 'conea' est ciconea. All three references are slighting. So, when in *Cap.* 882 Ergasilus swears καὶ τὰν Πραινέστην, etc., Hegio asks (884): quid tu per barbaras urbis iuras?

ROMA: Romae was read by Schoell in *Tru.* 966, a corrupt verse. Cf. *Poe.* 1313, 1314: plenior ali ulpique quam Romani remiges. Cf., too, perhaps, frag. 109, from Festus 45: catulinam carnem esitavisse Romanos Plautus in Saturione refert.

Various places in Rome are mentioned. Cf. *Cap.* 489: omnes de compecto rem agunt, quasi in Velabro olearii,¹ *Cur.* 483: in Velabro. Cf. *Cur.* 269: locus non praeberi (*sc. periuris*) potis est in Capitolio. In *Cur.* 467–85 the *choragus* enumerates places in the forum Romanum, e. g., the Cloacinae sacrum, the basilica, the forum piscarium, the lacus, the veteres (tabernae), the aedes Castoris, the vicus Tuscus, the Velabrum.²

SARDI: *Mi.* 44.

SARSINA (in Umbria): *Mo.* 770: Sarsinatis ecqua est, si Umbram non habes?

SIGNEA: *Cap.* 882: *ναὶ τὰν Σιγνέαν.*

SUTRIUM: *Cas.* 524.

UMBRIA: see SARSINA.

TURDETANI: *Cap.* 163.³

From the foregoing pages (5–12) one sees how vast is the array of places to which Plautus and Terence, especially the former, make reference.⁴ Allusion is made to all quarters of the Greek world of Menander's time and to some places of the Roman world of Plautus' days.

¹The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia! Corners in grain were common enough in Athens: witness Lysias xxii, *κατὰ τῶν σιτοπωλῶν*. Probably in the original of the *Captivi* there was a reference to such corners at Athens; for this Plautus substituted the more telling reference to similar operations at home.

²See below, p. 14, n. 1, last paragraph.

³At times Plautus plays with geography, as Swift played with geography. In *Cur.* 442 ff. the parasite declares that within twenty days the miles, single-handed, conquered Persas . . . Rhodiam atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesium, Centauro-machiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque . . . omnem Conterebromniam . . . *Peredia* and *Perbibesia* seem anticipations of Dickens' town of *Eatanswill*. In a similar passage, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–45, a parasite refers to the campi Curculionei, and to Scytholatronia. In *Tr.* 928–35 the sycophanta declares that he left Charmides ad Rhadamantem in Cercopio, and that Charmides had visited Pontus in Arabia, not, says the sycophanta, the Arabia where incense is produced, but the Arabia where one gets absinthe and cunila gallinacea! See also 936–44, *Poe.* 471–73, 663–66 (cf. 718, 790).

⁴This array is lengthened if we give heed to the names of slaves; we must remember that slaves were largely named after the countries from which they came. Instructive here is *Ph.* 35, 36 where Davus says: amicus summus et popularis Geta heri ad me venit. See the editors. Davus thinks of himself as a Dacian and so as virtually fellow-countryman of the Getae. It is clear, then, that to Terence's mind slave names had geographical suggestion. Cf. such passages as *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam . . . aut Syram aut Aegyptiam, *Eun.* 165, 166: ex Aethiopia ancillulam (cf. 471).

Cf. now the following slave names, ethnic in origin: Cario, *Mi.* 1397, 1427; Davus, *Am.* 365, 614, frag. 146, and passim, *Ph.* 51–151 passim (see Schmidt "Griechische Personennamen bei Plautus" *Hermes* XXXVII, p. 185); Cilix, frag. 149 (Schmidt, p. 184); Delphium, *Mo.* 320–47, 372, 393, 397 (Schmidt, p. 185); Dorus, name of a eunuch, *Eun.* 594; Doria, name of an ancilla, *Eun.* 538; Dorio, name of a leno, *Ph.* 485–533; Eleusium, *Aul.* 333 (Schmidt, p. 187); Geta, *Ph.* passim, *Ad.* 299 ff. (Lindsay emends *Tru.* 577 in such fashion that the slave Cyamus is made to hail from the Getae); Lesbia, *And.* 228, 459–88; Lurcio, *Mi.* 812–65, Lucris, name of the supposed captive woman in *Pe.* 624 (Schmidt, pp. 193, 194, refuses to connect these names

In Terence the geography is at once more restricted and more wholly Greek; Plautus at times introduces places purely Italian or even wholly Roman.¹

It is important now to consider the character of these references to various places. Are they accurate or inaccurate? Are they vague and intangible or is there an air of reality about them? In a word, is the local color good or bad?

Let us deal first with the plays laid at Athens. Here the representation of things Athenian, so far as that representation is at all definite (i. e., so far as the portrayal is metropolitan rather than cosmopolitan) is correct always. This is what we should expect in plays based on dramas written by citizens or residents of Athens.

In every passage containing reference to coming to Athens *peregre* the harbor (called either Piraeus or simply portus) is mentioned; it seems needless to give the references. The city is described as well-walled, *Pe.* 553; in *Pe.* 549 it is fortunatae atque opiparae (it may not be too fanciful to see here a rendering of Ἀθηναί λιπαραί). Allusions to the acropolis occur: *Ba.* 900: in arcem abivit aedem visere. nunc apertast; *Hec.* 431: in arcem transcurso opus est (see also 801). In *And.* 930 an Athenian is described as a Rhamnusian; in *Eun.* 110, 115 Attica covers Sunium.²

with *lucrum*; he derives them from Λοκίων, Λοκίς); Lydus, name of paedagogus in *Ba.*; Messenio, *Men.*; Mysis, *And.*; Olympio, Olympiscus, *Cas.*; Olympicus, *Tr.* 425; Phrygia, *Aul.* 333, *Heaut.* 731, etc., *Ad.* 973 (Schmidt, p. 201); Phoenicium, *Tru.* passim (Schmidt, p. 201); Syra, *Mer.* 670 ff., etc., *Tru.* 405, *Hec.* 71 ff., etc.; Syrus, *Ba.* 649, *Ps.*, *Ad.*, *Heaut.*, *St.* 433 (Schmidt, p. 210); Syricus, *Eun.* 772, 775; Thessala, *Am.* 770 (Schmidt, p. 210). We may add Cappadox, the name of the leno in *Cur.*; Schmidt (p. 181) declares that the name occurs nowhere else. See also Berard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* I, pp. 405, 406.

¹For specially incongruous injection of places wholly Italian or Roman see *Cap.* 160-63, 880-85, *Cur.* 466-85. It is worth while to remember that the authenticity of such passages has been called in question.

²Some minor points may be noted. Cf. *As.* 598-600: esse negotiosum interdus videlicet Solonem, leges ut conscribat quibus se populus teneat. In *Aul.* 36 the Cereis vigiliae are the Thesmophoria; see Wagner's note. In *Mer.* 61-68 we get a good view of the Dionysia, doubtless at Athens: cf. *Cur.* 644-47. In *Heaut.* 162, 170, 183 ff., 211, 733 we have references to the Dionysia, as kept in some country seat near Athens. For one other very important bit of local color in connection with Athens see the discussion below, pp. 16-18, of the meaning of *rus*. In *Aul.* 559 Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam may be noted.

In *And.* 51 there is a reference to *ephebi*. That we must interpret this in the technical sense familiar to the Athenians is clear from *Eun.* 824: iste ephebus frater Phaedriae, as explained by 290: miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice nunc est (cf. the *Periocha* 7, 12). Hence in 987: an in astu venit (sc. ex Piraeo)? asked about this *ephebus*, is absolutely correct. Cf. now *Mer.* 40, 61.

Turning now to plays not laid at Athens, we note that in the *Bacchides*, set at Ephesus, references are made to the temple of Diana there (307–41). In the *Miles*, also set at Ephesus, we have mention of the ara Ephesiae Dianae (411). The *Menaechmi* too gives a correct touch; for the boy lost at Tarentum his brother has been searching through Histros, Hispanos, Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare (235–37). In *Poe.* 86 reference is made to Magara, part of Carthage; one thinks of Vergil's magalia, *Aen.* i. 421, iv. 259, *Georg.* iii. 340 (see Conington's notes).

The *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene. At 630–33 an elaborate reference is made to laserpicium or silphium, well known as the special product of Cyrene and as such figured on its coins.

Some miscellaneous points deserve notice. The perfumes of Arabia are mentioned in *Mi.* 412, *Tr.* 934, 935, *Tru.* 539, 540; amomum from Pontus is named in *Tru. ibid.* In *Tru.* 536 Phrygian cloaks are mentioned; cf. the noun phrygio. In *Tru.* 649 there is mention of a sale of oves Tarentinae; we think of Horace *Carm.* ii. 6. 10–11: dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi flumen et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalantho. Cf. also Varro *R. R.* ii. 2. 18, cited by editors on Horace *loc. cit.* The *Stichus* involves a trading voyage from Athens to Asia; the things brought back include Babulonica et peristroma tonsilia et tappetia, 378, sambucae, 381, unguenta, 383. In *Men.* 409–12 it is possible to pick flaws in the list of Syracusan kings (see Brix), but since it occurs in a comedy, not in a history, it is reasonably accurate. In the *Curculio* we have already noted (see p. 4) the references to the templum Aesculapi.¹

¹ Many more details might be brought together, e.g., the references to wines of various sorts, such as Chian, Lesbian, famous still in later times, and known all over the

Thus far we have been concerned with the geography of the comedies, its extent and its nature. We must pass now to our main theme, the evidences of movement from point to point.¹ A general twofold division of the passages suggests itself; one set will deal with land travel, the other, far the larger, with travel beyond seas.

Greek world through commerce; the references to Samian ware, to Alexandrian and Campanian tapestries, etc. The reader who examines with care the geographical data given above, pp. 5-12, or reads thoughtfully the accounts of travel given below, will be struck more and more forcibly with the accuracy of the allusions. Of a more general character are the references to luxurious living at Athens, Epidamnus, Sicily, (i. e., Syracuse), all centers of trade, wealth, and its attendant luxury. For Sicily cf. *Ru.* 51-57, 540-42; for Epidamnus, *Men.* 258-64, 339-43; for Athens, *Ep.* 212-63. In *Ru.* 49, 50 Charmides is described as Siculus senex, . . . Agrigentinus, urbis proditor: we think at once of the disturbed political conditions in Sicily. Lastly, even in the *Amphitruo*, a play which contains, perhaps, much relatively independent work (see Palmer's edition, pp. xiv-xviii), the treatment is reasonably accurate. The play is laid at Thebes: Creon is king (194, 351), Tiresias is seer (1128, 1145, 1132).

Yet there are weaknesses. In *Am.* 149, 164 a, 195, 460, 602, 701, 731 ff. reference is made to a portus (of Thebes!); cf. Palmer on 404. Now the *Amphitruo* is unique among Latin comedies, especially in its wonder-working element (in the prolongation of the night and the deus ex machina close); what wonder if in a play which lies close to the magic world Thebes develops a harbor? Where Plautus set the Teloboeae we do not know (see Palmer's note on arg. i. 2), but he repeatedly makes *Amphitruo* go to and fro by sea (329, 404, etc.). Hence there must be a portus at the home end of the journey. Plautus' real sin, then, lies in putting this portus within easy walking distance of Thebes. Similarly in the *Poenulus* Calydon has a harbor (114, 115, 649, 650). In *Am.* 404, 823 Plautus refers to a portus Persicus; from this *Amphitruo* arrived on the night on which the play opens. Festus (217 M.) suggested that Plautus gave this name to some harbor on the mare Euboicum because once a Persian fleet maneuvered in these waters, an odd anachronism, surely, and a curious misapplication of a bit of learning, yet modern editors have no better comment to offer.

Errors of another sort are somewhat marked. Though all the plays are laid on Greek soil, Plautus not infrequently introduces geographical details which are purely Italian. See above, pp. 11, 12; p. 13, n. 1. The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia; yet in 88-90, there is allusion to the porta trigemina at Rome. In *Ps.* 331 ff., Professor Morris sees a reference to the Porta Esquilina at Rome. Another instance of his forgetfulness is his employment of pergraecari, with the sense of 'to lead a riotous, extravagant life;' cf. p. 9, n. 2. Cf. also *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati, *Tru.* 55: armariola Graeca. A captious critic might object to the statement in *Men.* 7-12 that this play non atticissat, verum sicilicissat, on the ground that the scene is laid at Epidamnus. Yet since the more important characters all hail from Syracuse and return thither at the close of the play the inaccuracy is a trifle. It is to be noted that after all the allusions to things distinctly Italian or Roman are, for our purposes, of little consequence. Here especially Plautus talks with fullest knowledge and accuracy; the passages discredit his judgment (or that of the interpolators), not his geographical knowledge.

¹ A careful examination of pp. 5-12 will furnish many suggestions of communication between distant points, e. g., in the allusions to objects of commerce, such as wines, tapestries, perfumes, slaves.

TRAVEL BY LAND

Specific references¹ to journeying by land are confined to the innumerable allusions to movement in the streets of some city, or to travel between a city and its harbor, or to movement between some city, especially Athens, and its suburbs. Of movement in city streets we need take no notice. Nor shall I take time to gather the references to progress between a city and its harbor, though under the conditions which determined the location of cities in ancient Greece such progress often involved distances of moment; witness the case of Athens and the Piraeus. Yet after all this movement, like that in city streets, is purely local.

Journeys between some city and its *rus* stand, in part at least, on a somewhat different footing. In the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) the term *rus* covers Sunium, which is a goodly distance from Athens for one who must walk or drive thither. References to travel between Athens and its suburbs are very numerous.² In the *Casina* a vilicus is in Athens (see 98–142, 437, 438, etc.). In 781 the senex says: *ego ruri cenavero* (cf. 783–86), a proof that the *rus* was at no great distance.³ In *Mer.* 61–68 Demipho talks of the trips he made as a boy with his father (to Athens) to see the peplus. Lysimachus, senex, has a villa *ruri* (*Mer.* 272–82). His wife is there (280 ff., 543, 586, 686, etc.), but on receipt of a message that he is not coming *rus* (279, 280, 667), she comes to town to join him (667–80, 686, 807–14). Presently she sends a servant to her father, but the servant finds that the father had gone *rus* (803, 804). In 656 Eutyclus advises Charinus

¹ Land travel is often enough implied, especially in the references to the exploits of the miles: see *Cur.* 438, 442–48, 438–39, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–44, 52, 53, *Poe.* 663–66. We may suppose that Harpax (*Ps.* 1173–75) came from Sicyon to Athens by land; such a supposition gives most point to Ballio's comment, *strenue mehercle iisti*, when he hears that Harpax had left Sicyon but two days before (the distance by land is about 75 miles). We shall see presently that land conveyances are but seldom named, and that they are never mentioned in connection with actual travel.

² In *Cis.* 225, 226 Alcesimarchus, now in town (Sicyon) says: *pater apud villam detinuit me hos sex dies ruri continuos*. In *Men.* prol. 63–66 we read that the mercator who had carried off the boy, going out *rus* from Epidamnus, was drowned while trying to ford a rain-swollen stream. In *Poe.* 170 a vilicus is in town (Calydon). In *Cap.* 78 the parasite, who is supposed to be in Aetolia, says: *ubi res prolatae sunt, quom homines rus eunt, simul prolatae res sunt nostris dentibus*. Cf. 84, 85.

³ In 420, in his desire to hasten the 'marriage,' he had said, *scin tu rus hinc esse ad villam longe quo ducat?*

not to go *peregre* into exile, but *rus aliquo*. See also *Ba.* 899, *As.* 341, 342.

From *Mo.* 1-83 we see that a country slave, Grumio, is in town. For other movements *rus* see 928, 1043, 1076, 1077. In *Ps.* 549 Callipho explains that he cannot help Simo: *rus ut irem iam heri constitueram*. It was while Callicles was *unos sex dies ruri* that Lesbonicus put up his father's house for sale (*Tr.* 163-72).¹ According to *Tru.* 645, 646 Strabax has gone *rus* for his father; some one there owed money to his father for oves Tarentinae. Cf. further 647-50, 669-71, 692-94. One of Phronesium's lovers is an *adulescens agrestis* (246-49, 269, arg. 1-2). In 682, 683 Truculentus, a *servus rusticus*, refers to his frequent trips to the city. At 915 Strabax says: *nec ruri nec hic operis quicquam facio*. See also 245-54, 277-82.²

In Terence references of this sort are even more numerous. The *Heauton* is laid in the suburbs of Athens, at some distance from the city (239, 63-74, 88-92, etc.); for movement between city and suburbs see 53, 54, 142-46, 731, 732, 175, 176, 191, 230 ff., 375, 381-408. In the *Hecyra* Laches lives *ruri*, his wife in town (174, 175, 215-18, 224-26). He comes to town, 189, 190. His wife, baffled in her efforts to establish better relations between herself and her daughter-in-law, says to her son (586): *ego rus abituram hinc cum tuo me esse certo decrevi patre*. Cf. 589, 619, 629.

In *Eun.* 187 Phaedria, who has agreed to surrender Thais for two days to the miles, says: *rus ibo*. Cf. 216, 220, *Per.* 5-6. *Vss.* 629-41 tell what happened when he set out *rus*. In 971-73

¹ A field (*ager*) which Lesbonicus still owns *sub urbe hic*, 508 ff., figures largely in the discussion whether his sister shall or shall not be married to Lysiteles *sine dote* (508-561, 593-99, 652, 687, 695, 700). In *Tru.* 174 Diniarchus, who has been nearly ruined by his gifts to Phronesium, says: *sunt mi etiam fundi et aedis*. Cf. 177, 186, 214. See also *Aul.* 13, 14. In *Ph.* 361-66 Phormio declares that the (supposed) father of the girl whom the court had compelled Antipho to marry had spent most of his time *ruri*: *ibi agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat*. In 661 Geta asserts that Phormio has an *ager*, mortgaged for ten minae. In *Ad.* 949, 950 Demea urges Micio to give to Hegio *agelli hic sub urbe paullum*, which at present he rents out. Cf. also *Ep.* 226, *Mo.* 80, *Pe.* 566.

² In *Tr.* 944 travel *rus* is burlesqued. The sycophant had said, 940-43, that he had sailed *ad caput amnis*, *quod de caelo exoritur sub solio Iovis*; nay, he had gone straight up to heaven, but he had not seen Jupiter: *alii di isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum*.

his father says: *ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi: neque agri neque urbis odium me umquam percipit. ubi satietas coepit fieri, commuto locum.*¹ See also 611, 967. Chremes has an estate at Sunium (519–25). From this estate years before his sister had been carried off by pirates (cf. 519–27 with 107–15).²

Of the older brothers in the *Adelphoe* one, Demea, has spent his life in the country (45, 866, 867). He comes to town sorely distressed by the pranks of one of his sons, Aeschines, whom his brother Micio had adopted (77–81, 92); his other son, Ctesipho, is, he thinks, safely in the country (94–96). He starts back *rus* to find Ctesipho (401, 433–36, 517–20). On his way he meets one of his *mercennarii*, en route for town, who tells him that Ctesipho is not *ruri* (541, 542). See also 560–62, 842.³

An excellent commentary on these passages is afforded by Thucydides' remarks (ii. 13. 2, ii. 14, ii. 15. 1, 2) on the advice given by Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians, he said, "must prepare for war and bring their property from the country into the city; they must defend their walls but not go out to battle" They brought their property into the city, with sorrowing hearts, "for the Athenians had always been accustomed to reside in the country. Such a life had been characteristic of them, more than of any other Hellenic people, from very early times." "Theseus . . . united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforth they were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens."⁴

¹Cf. *Ad.* 523: *et illud rus nulla alia causa tam male odi, nisi quia propest; quod si abesset longius, prius nox oppressisset illi eum (=patrem) quam huc reverti posset iterum. Nunc ubi me illic non videbit, iam huc recurret.*

²The uncle of Glycerium, shipwrecked on Andros, was a Rhamnusian (*And.* 923–30).

³References to the pistrinum as a means of punishment are probably pertinent here; that the pistrinum was *ruri* appears from *Mo.* 16–19, *Ph.* 249, 250. Less clear are *Ba.* 781, *Ep.* 121, 145, *Pe.* 420, *Poe.* 827, *Ps.* 490, 494, 499, 500, 534, 1060, 1100, *And.* 600, 199, 200.

⁴The quotations are from Jowett's translation. See Miss Harrison *Primitive Athens* (1906), pp. 4, 5. Pollux viii. 116 explains that the Athenians called a special session of the *ἐκκλησία* a *κατάκλητος ἐκκλησία*, *ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεκάλουν*

The passages brought together from Plautus and Terence show that in Menander's day conditions at Athens were much the same as they had been before the Athenians took Pericles' advice and moved from the country into the city.

Only once, I think, is there allusion to travel by land by night. In the *Amphitruo* Sosia is sent forward by night by his impatient master to carry news of Theban victory and of Amphitruo's home-coming (153-55, 163-68, 292-310, 602, 620-22, 737, 743). He travels solus (154), carrying a lantern (149, 341). He fears arrest by the tresviri as a suspicious character, and flogging next day (155-60).¹

TRAVEL BEYOND SEAS

Let us turn now to consider travel by sea. The material is abundant, but the passages involved may be grouped under a few clearly marked divisions. We shall see that journeys beyond seas were undertaken largely for business; we shall note much travel, too, in connection with war. The travels of meretrices, or of their lovers, or of those lovers' messengers, will call for special attention. It will be necessary, finally, to devote a separate section to the travels of persons who in their tender years were kidnaped or carried off by pirates and to the journeys of the kinsmen who spend long years and cover great distances in their search for the loved and lost.

Business travel.—According to the *Asinaria* a merchant of Pella in Macedonia has been buying Arcadici asini at Athens (333 ff., 347 ff., 397, 398, prol. 12). Whether the merchant was present in person to make the purchase does not appear. Presently a messenger from him enters, prepared to pay the purchase money, twenty minae (335, 336, 343-49, 852, 734, 369, 590, arg. 3). He comes peregre (449, 464, 582). He is attended by a puer (382). He is at first cautious and resists all attempts of Leonidas to get the money from him. As part of his plea Leonidas (i. e., down to the *ἄστυ*). It is clear that in most of the passages in Plautus and Terence the term *rus* covers no great distance; it is also plain from the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) that the term may cover all Attica.

¹ *Ad.* 523-26, cited p. 18, n. 1, might be taken to imply that journeying by night was unusual; it may, however, merely imply that Otesipho thinks that his father would regard it as hopeless to search for him in town in the darkness.

says (499-501): Rhodo mercator dives apsepte ero solus mihi talentum argenti soli adnumeravit et credidit mihi neque deceptus in eo.

In *Ba.* 170, 171 Chrysalus declares that he and his master's son have been away from Athens for two years, at Ephesus, to collect 1,200 Philippi due to the youth's father, Nicobulus (230-36, 249-78, 306-36, 352-54, 388, 389, 561, 1047). The money had been in the hands of a hospes. Chrysalus asserts that they have not brought the money; they had after much trouble secured it, but as they were putting out from the harbor of Ephesus homeward bound a pirate ship started after them, whereupon they had put back and had deposited the money publicly with the priest of Diana (278-347). Later the son had secured a portion of the money and had bought this home (316-24). At 325 Chrysalus urges Nicobulus to go to Ephesus for the balance; the old man assents (342 ff., 354 ff., 776).¹ Chrysalus warns him that he must take with him his son's anulus, as the symbolus by which the money was to be got from the priest (265, 327-30).²

In the *Cistellaria* we read that a mercator came from Lemnos to Sicyon to attend the games (157, 161, 162); there he wronged a woman (158, 159, arg. 1, 2). He had gone back to Lemnos and had married there (161, 162, 173-75, arg. 2). When his wife died he went again to Sicyon and married the woman he had wronged years before (100, 177-79, arg. 6). His first journey, then, was solely for business; the second also may be said to have been made for business, in a broad sense: at least it was not undertaken animi tantum causa.

In the *Curculio* Phaedromus sends his parasite from Epidaurus to Caria (see p. 6) to get a loan from a sodalis there (67 ff., 143, 144, 252, 253, 275-78, arg. 1, 2). The parasite had been sent nudius quartus (206, 207) and is expected back hodie (143; in 143, 225, 324, 325, it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from the parasite fixing the time of his return). In Caria he makes the acquaintance of the very soldier who had contracted

¹ Vss. 342 ff. imply that Nicobulus had been a *mercator*, i. e., a merchant who engaged in transmarine commerce, in his own ship.

² The whole story of the depositum and of the supposed treachery of the hospes reminds one of the story of Glaucus in Herodotus vi. 86.

with the leno for Phaedromus' amica (337 ff.); the soldier asks him whether he knows the banker Lyco and the leno Cappadox at Epidaurus. The parasite robs the soldier of his ring, which was to serve as symbolus to the banker (340-60). The soldier had been in Epidaurus and had bargained in person for the girl; he had paid part of the money and had made arrangements to complete the payment and the transfer.¹ He calls Lyco his hospes (429), tarpezita meus (618). The soldier arrives from Caria (533 ff.).

In *Mer.* 1-110 Charinus speaks what amounts to a prologue. He had been engaged in an intrigue with a meretrix (40-45), for which his father had sternly reproached him (46-73), pointing out that in his youth he himself had made much money as a mercator (73-78). This talk drove Charinus forth to seek his fortune (11, 12, 79-97, 357, 358, arg. i. 1, 2, arg. ii. 1, 2). His father had built for him a navis cercurus, had bought merces, had put all on board the ship, and had given him also talentum argenti (86-91). Charinus had gone to Rhodes on a trading trip; he has just returned, after two years (11, 12, 92-97, 256, 257, 533-35), successful beyond his expectations (93-96). At Rhodes he loved an ancilla of a certain hospes, bought her, and brought her home (97-117); about her the play turns.²

The *Mostellaria* is laid at Athens. Theopropides, senex, has been away three years on business (78-81, 440, 971), which took him to Egypt (439, 994). See also 11, 12, 25, 26, 57, 957-62, 971-77, arg. 2, 3.

In the *Persa* money is needed. At 260-65, 323-26 Sagaristio explains that he can supply this: "my master has sent me to Eretria to buy some well-broken oxen; he gave me money, telling

¹ See 341-48, 432-36, 535-53.

² Plautus nearly always uses mercator of one who engages in transmarine commerce: see *As.* 333, 369, 397, 499, *Cis.* 157, *Men.* arg. 1, 17, *Mer.* arg. ii. 13, *Poe.* 1040. Cf. *And.* 222. In *Men.* 32, *Mi.* 131, *Poe.* 340, *Eun.* 109, 114, this sense is probable, though there is no direct proof. In *Epid.* 395 mercator is used, in a playful passage, of one who has been buying something within Athens itself. In *Ba.* 236 we have navis mercatoria. Cf. also *Ru.* 931, where Gripus, elated by the catch of the vidulus, builds castles in Spain: navibus magnis mercaturam faciam; *Tr.* 332: publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? (cf. p. 24, n. 1). Yet, in *Mo.* 639, when Theopropides learns that his son has bought a house, he cries: eugae! Philolaches patrissat: iam homo in mercatura vortitur.

me that six days hence a fair will be held there. I'll use the money for our purposes and I'll tell him that there were no oxen to be bought." Another scheme is, however, in fact used. A letter is prepared, purporting to be from Toxilus' master, now in Persia (460, 451, 497 ff.); it is opened (497), and read (501-12, 520-27). The master is well and making money; business will detain him for eight months still in Persia, in connection with the auction of the praeda carried off by the Persians from the town Chrysopolis in Arabia (503-9).

In the *Stichus* two brothers, to repair their fortunes (404, 405, 628-31, arg. ii. 1-3), have been away from Athens for more than two years (29-31, 137, 212-14, 1-6, 99, 100, 131-36, 523) in Asia (152, 366, 367). They return at last, each in his own ship, laden with wealth (404-14, 505 ff., 374-83, 435).¹ In the *Trinummus* Charmides goes on business to Seleucia (109 ff., 149, 838, 839, 112, 771, 845, 901); he is gone two years. For his return see 820 ff.²

¹ It will be noted that trading trips regularly occupy two years or more. Yet in the *Mercator* the merchant had gone only to Rhodes. There is little in the plays to explain the length of the trips. In *Persa* 504, 505, in the fictitious letter, the writer is made to say that the auction will detain him for eight months in Persia. If we may lay any weight on such a passage, we shall infer that ancient business methods were rather leisurely. The prominence given to fairs (see below, p. 23, n. 2) seems to point in the same direction; if we suppose that at such fairs and elsewhere business was done in part at least by barter we shall be less surprised at the length of business trips. In *Od.* xv. 415, 416, 455, 456, we read of Phoenician ships tarrying for a year at Surie, amassing much substance. See Merry and Merriam on *Od.* viii. 161-64, Whibley *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 426. We may recall, too, the fact that in the winter months transmarine travel was suspended. It is possible, however, that the period of two or three years postulated by the plays is merely arbitrary and conventional, meaning no more than 'long continued.' In *Miles* 350, 351 we have the strange statement that Palaestrio had been slave of the miles at Ephesus for three years; this means that it is more than three years since the soldier carried the meretrix off by force from Athens. To take all this literally is difficult; the young man, to be faithful to the meretrix all this time, must have been a monstrum fidelitatis! In *Hec.* 85-87 a meretrix declares that she had been with a soldier at Corinth perpetuum biennium, pining the while for Athens (so near at hand!). In *Hec.* 420-23 Parmeno dwells on the horrors of the deep; for thirty days, he claims, or even more he was in constant expectation of death. Yet he had merely come from Imbros to Athens!

² Callicles, anxious to provide a dowry for Charmides' daughter, hires a sycophanta, who is to pretend that Charmides had sent him to Athens with money. The sycophanta, thinking himself unheard, seeks to perfect himself in his lesson: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia atque Arabia (845). This passage sounds the keynote of the nonsense geography that follows (928-44). See above, p. 12, n. 3.

In *And.* 796 Crito, an Andrian, arrives in Athens, to claim the property left by Chrysis, his *sobrinus* (796–801, 807–17). Through him the identity of Glycerium is established (859, 923–46). Chremes, her father, was once in Asia. Thither his brother Phania, a Rhamnusian (930), followed him (935), taking the young child with him (936). A subsidiary motive was his desire to escape a war at home (935: cf. the Glaucus story, *Herod.* vi. 86). He was shipwrecked at Andros (923, 924, 220–24), and died there, leaving the child to the care of Chrysis' family. Later the child had come to Athens with Chrysis, who hoped to mend her fortunes there (69–72).

According to *Ph.* 65–69, Demipho, though a man of wealth, had been lured from Athens to Cilicia by glittering inducements held out to him by a *hospes* there. Of the outcome of his trip we hear nothing, naturally, since the play is concerned rather with his brother Chremes. For years Chremes has been journeying to Lemnos, to collect the revenues of some estates owned there by his wife (679–81, 787–92). On one of these trips, fifteen years before (1017), he had an intrigue with a woman in Lemnos, and had had a daughter by her. Chremes is even now in Lemnos, to bring this daughter to Athens, that she may be married to Antipho, Demipho's son (65, 66, 567 ff., 728–65, *Pe.* 3–8); he had been gone a long time (572–75, 1012). When his wife learns the truth she cries (1012, 1013): *haecine erant itiones crebrae et mansiones diutinae Lemni? haecine erat ea quae nostros minuit fructus vilitas?*¹

In the *Hecyra* Pamphilus goes to Imbros, to look after an inheritance there (171–75, 76, 77, 415–25, 359, 360, 458–65). If vss. 393, 394, which Dziatsko brackets, are retained, his absence lasted five months. In *Ad.* 224, 225 Syrus declares that he knows that the *leno coemisse hinc quae illuc* (=Cyprum) *veheres multa, navem conductam* (cf. 278). In 229–31 the *leno* admits that he is taking women to a fair;² he hopes to gain rich profits

¹ The Lemnian woman, finding that Chremes was away from Lemnos longer than usual, and noting that her daughter was of marriageable years, comes to Athens to find Chremes (569–76, 749 ff.).

² References to fairs, *mercatus*, occur elsewhere. In *Ph.* 837–39 Phormio talks of going to Sunium, *ad mercatum*, to buy an *ancilla* there. In *Men.* 27 a Syracusan

(231, 232, 226) and to return to Athens. In 647-52 Micio, to tease his son Aeschines, tells a story about the girl whom Aeschines loves and her mother; they have lately moved to Athens, he says, and the girl's nearest kinsman is come from Miletus to marry her, and take her away (653-55, 661, 662, 672-74, 702, 703).¹

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[*To be continued*]

merchant goes to Tarentum ad mercatum (cf. 1112). Cf. *Pe.* 259, 260: erus meus me Eretriam misit, domitos boves uti sibi mercarer, dedit argentum, nam ibi mercatum dixit esse dieseptumei (cf. 313-26); *Poe.* 339, 340: apud aedem Veneris (in Calydon) hodie est mercatus meretricius: eo conveniunt mercatores, ibi ego me ostendi volo. We may assume, then, that there was a fair in connection with the *ludi* mentioned in *Cis.* 157 (cf. *Men.* 27 ff.); this will account for the mercator's coming to Sicyon at that time. Add *As.* 398: asinos vendidit (sc. Demaenetus, a vir Atheniensis) Pellaeo mercatori mercatu; the location of this fair is not given.

¹ Some more general references to business involving travel may be noted here. In *As.* 134 Argyrippus, addressing the lena and her daughter, cries: mare haud est mare, vos mare acerrumum; nam in mari repperi, hic elavi bonis. *Ru.* 631 contains a reference to regular exports (exagoga) from Cyrene to Capua. In *Tr.* 331, 332, Philto, seeking to learn how Lesbonicus lost his property, asks: qui eam perdidit? publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? The passage reminds us of the statement in Gellius iii. 3. 14 that Plautus lost all his money in a trading expedition; it may involve a personal reminiscence. Plautus' references to the monkey (*Mi.* 162, 179, 261, 284, 285, 505, 989, *Poe.* 1072-75, *Ru.* 598-612, *Tru.* 269) are important for us, since the monkey was not found in Greece or Asia Minor (cf. Whibley, p. 23). The names of slaves, which had for us geographical significance above (p. 12, n. 4), have for us now mercantile significance; such slaves became known to the Athenians only through transmarine commerce. A glance at the list of non-Greek products to which reference is made in the plays will reinforce and supplement the impressions made by pp. 19-24, by suggesting movement across seas from Athens to many points other than those mentioned in these pages. The list includes resina Aegyptia, *Mer.* 139, mures Africani, *Poe.* 1011, Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia, *Ps.* 147, perfume from Arabia (see Arabia, p. 6), lanterna Punica, *Aul.* 566, the laserpicium of Cyrene, *Ru.* 629, 630, Babylonica (peristromata), *St.* 378, cloaks from Phrygia (cf. Phrygia, p. 7), amomum from Pontus, *Tru.* 539, 540 (the term *myropola*, *Cas.* 226, 238, *Tr.* 408 is now seen to be significant; cf. *myropolium*, *Am.* 1011, *Ep.* 199), Chian wine, *Poe.* 699, Lesbian wine, *Poe.* 699, wine from Leucas, *Poe.* 699, vina Graeca, *Ru.* 588, Molossic hounds, *Cap.* 86, Samian wares (see Samos, p. 10) Thasian wine, *Poe.* 699, Tarentine sheep, *Tru.* 649. Cf. also *Am.* 1-5, and note the references below to removals for business reasons.